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BOOK REVIEWS.

SOCIAL STATICS. Abridged and Revised; together with THE MAN VERSUS THE STATE. By *Herbert Spencer*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1892.

JUSTICE. Being Part IV of the Principles of Ethics. By *Herbert Spencer*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1891.

Among Mr. Spencer's most important books are those entitled *Justice* and *Social Statics*. The latter, which first appeared in 1850, has just been republished in about one-half of the original size, some parts having been transferred to the book on *Justice*, and others omitted altogether. "One difference," as he says, "is that what there was in my first book of supernaturalistic interpretation has disappeared, and the interpretation has become exclusively naturalistic—that is, evolutionary." Another change is that a demonstration of the injustice of socialism is substituted for his former arguments, plainly repudiated in *Justice*, against private ownership of land. Equally important is the omission of the chapter asserting "The Right to Ignore the State."

The demand for Woman Suffrage has also been withdrawn from the new edition of *Social Statics*, though it retains the original protest against "the reign of man over woman," and asserts an "equality of rights in the married state." Here again, Spencer's final position must be sought in his *Justice* where it is urged that women cannot justly have equal powers with men unless they have equal responsibilities. They cannot serve their country as men do; and if they take an equal share in the government, "their position is not one of equality but one of supremacy." Even in time of peace, they are, he thinks, too impulsive to vote judiciously, too sympathetic to oppose "fostering the worse at the expense of the better," and too fond of "a worship of power under all its forms" to protect individual liberty against the encroachment of authority. This objection seems particularly strong, because there is still great danger of the growth of state despotism at the expense of personal freedom, even in republics. Many recent instances are given by Spencer in "The Man versus the State," now reprinted in the same volume with *Social Statics*; and it is urged in *Justice*, that even in the United States "universal suffrage does not prevent an enormous majority of consumers from being

heavily taxed by a protective tariff for the benefit of a small minority of manufacturers and artisans."

Our voters are much too ready to follow hasty impulses and unscrupulous leaders ; and both faults are most common among the most ignorant. How strongly education encourages independence was acknowledged by those slave-holders who said, "Our negroes shall not learn to read, for that makes them run away." Public schools have found their worst enemies among Popes and Czars, and their best friends in the statesmen most honored by republics. There is no other institution for whose advantages Americans are practically unanimous. The necessity of popular education at the public cost is acknowledged by Huxley, Mill, and other advanced thinkers so generally, that Spencer's exceptionally hostile opinion ought not to be taken as a self-evident truth.

Mr. Spencer's examination of this subject does not appear to have been so thorough as the occasion demands. In denying that education prevents crime, he relies mainly on Joseph Fletcher, who, as stated in both editions of *Social Statics*, "has entered more elaborately into this question than perhaps any other writer of the day," and who admits that there is a "superficial evidence against instruction." Spencer takes no notice of Fletcher's having succeeded completely in breaking down this superficial evidence. In elaborate papers, published in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth volumes of *The Journal of the London Statistical Society*, and illustrated by many tables and maps, Fletcher shows that the proportion to the population, in various parts of England, of people unable to sign their names, corresponded everywhere to the proportion of illegitimate births as well as of commitments for crime. Separating these latter into classes according to degree of guilt, he proves that the worst crimes are most common where there is the most ignorance. Thus he is enabled to say, "The conclusion is therefore irresistible that education is essential to the security of modern society." That this testimony of Spencer's principal witness is really the truth can be further proved by the statistics in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, showing that between 1841 and 1876, while the percentage of illiterates to population in England and Wales was reduced one-half, that of criminals was reduced to one-third of what it was originally. (Vol. VIII, pp. 221 and 249-251.)

Spencer also refers to the fact that schools have sometimes been carried on in the interest of despotism ; but most kinds of food are easily adulterated ; and education is valuable, notwithstanding, as food for liberty. This last consideration disposes completely of his comparison of state-churches with state-schools ; and the fact, mentioned in the revised but not in the original edition of *Social Statics*, that opinions differ about the best methods of education, is really an additional instance of the encouragement given by our system of public schools to independence of thought.

Spencer's chief objection to this system is that it does not fit his theory that 'the liberty of each, limited by the like liberties of all, is the rule in conformity

with which society must be organised," (p. 45). Such a "law of right social relationships," (p. 55) would, he admits, require us to repeal our laws against indecency, abolish our Boards of Health, and close our poorhouses, postoffices, banks, and lighthouses, except in so far as these institutions, like our streets and roads, might be cared for by benevolent individuals. He does not tell us how a government, thus limited to managing the police, army, and navy, could keep up a fire-department, nor how new streets, roads, railways, or canals could be opened, in case the owners of land put their prices too high for the projectors; but the most unfortunate application of his theory would be to close our public schools.

There is no danger of this, however; and the principal evil likely to result from his pushing his theory so far, is that he prevents people from seeing its real value, as indicating the direction in which our race has advanced and must make all further progress. We shall keep on diminishing the power of the state over the man, as well as that of the man over the child, but neither authority will ever be abolished entirely. We shall dispense, sooner or later, with some of the public institutions which Spencer condemns; but our common schools will, I think, last as long as government itself. The abolitionists helped the slave to freedom by pointing out the North Star; but they did not advise him to quit solid earth. This mistake, although we grant that Spencer shows us our North Star, is sometimes made in *Social Statics*.

Timely help, too, is given by him, in a thoroughly practical way, to those reformers who are passing out from under the cloud with a silver lining into a Cleveland summer and a fair prospect of a Harrison fall. Among the words best worth putting into actions at once, are these: "The right of exchange is as sacred as any other right, and exists as much between members of different nations as between members of the same nation. Morality knows nothing of geographical boundaries." . . . "Hence, in putting a veto upon the commercial intercourse of two nations, or in putting obstacles in the way of that intercourse, a government trenches upon men's liberties of action, and by so doing directly reverses its function. To secure for each man the fullest freedom to exercise his faculties, compatible with the like freedom of all others, we find to be the state's duty. Now trade prohibitions and trade restrictions not only do not secure this freedom, but they take it away. So that in enforcing them the state is transformed from a maintainer of rights into a violator of rights." . . . "Whether it kills, or robs, or enslaves, or shackles by trade regulations, its guilt is alike in kind, and differs only in degree." (*Social Statics*, ed. of 1850, pp. 326, 327; ed. of 1892, p. 137).

F. M. H.

AN ESSAY ON REASONING. By *Edward T. Dixon*. Cambridge (Eng.): Deighton, Bell, & Co. 1891. Pp. 88.

Some years ago the author of this essay made public certain views of his, on "Geometry of Four Dimensions." He was surprised to find that though his arguments were received with incredulity they were not refuted. This result appeared